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ABSTRACT

Swiss-migrant joint associations are coordinating bodies for local services/agencies dealing with migrant problems, are recognized by local authorities, implement government policies toward migrants, and are politically neutral. Membership is drawn from local authorities, educational authorities, churches, political parties, employers'/employees' associations, public services, and Swiss and migrant bodies responsible for social welfare and migrant organizations. The end purpose is social integration, and eventual assimilation, of migrants in Switzerland. Generally, joint associations try to create a climate of mutual understanding between Swiss nationals and migrants, make critical studies of the migrant situation, and try to base their approach on what migrants think and on their specific problems: school, language, and professional advancement. In Aargau, additional classes in German are given, using specially developed materials; a "homework supervision" scheme for migrant children trains Swiss or migrant mothers whose own children have been to school, to work with teachers and help children with homework; "parents' committees" aim to provide support for children and improve parents' own education; and teachers attend seminars on problems of migrant children. The Zurich joint association campaigned for greater recognition of the mother tongue; 2 hours of mother-tongue-and-culture classes were incorporated into school timetables. All cantons have brochures in the various languages spoken by the migrants explaining the school system. (MH)

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The CDCC's Project No. 7 :

"The education and cultural development of migrants"

CASE STUDY OF SWISS-MIGRANT JOINT ASSOCIATIONS

(Switzerland)

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School Education Division

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The CDCC's Project No. 7:

"The Education and Cultural Development of Migrants"

Case study

of

"Swiss-migrant joint associations"

by

Arlette OLMOS

The views expressed in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe

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SWISS-MIGRANT JOINT ASSOCIATIONS

1. THE LOCAL CONTEXT

1.1 Demographic and sociological data

In Switzerland this year, out of a population of 6.3 million, there are just over 910,000 foreigners holding an annual work permit or an "establishment" permit (1), ie about 16% of the total. This figure does not include the 108,000 seasonal workers and the 111,000 frontier workers whose families, by virtue of their status, are not resident in Switzerland.

Proportionally, the foreign population is one of the largest in Europe, and this explains the problem of co-existence between the Swiss population and migrants. There has been tension since the 1960s, large sections of the Swiss population having reacted negatively to the increase in the number of foreign workers. Since 1965, four "popular initiatives" advocating a massive reduction of the migrant population have been rejected (1965, 1970, 1974 and 1977), but so have the "solidarity" initiative in support of migrants (1981) and the new legislation on migrants proposed by the federal authorities (also 1981). These events and the economic crisis have led the authorities to stabilise the migrant population, and this has caused a feeling of insecurity among the latter.

Here are the figures for the last few years (6) (see attached bibliography):

Year	Holders of an "establishment" permit	Holders of an annual work permit	Seasonal workers	Total	Frontier workers
1965	201,861	608,382	184,235	994,478	45,600
1972	508,382	523,903	196,632	1,228,917	97,208
1974	619,299	446,921	151,962	1,218,182	110,809
1977	659,647	274,173	67,275	1,001,095	83,058
1979	669,343	213,749	96,212	979,304	91,852
1980	681,641	203,537	109,873	995,051	100,404
1981	689,563	211,920	119,821	1,021,304	108,988
(Sept. 1982)	741,620	213,255	108,011	1,062,886	111,029

It may therefore be said that immigration has indeed been stabilised and that the migrant population is likely to remain in Switzerland for good as a very large majority hold "establishment" permits.

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(1) The holders of an "establishment" permit, which is issued after a period of 5 to 10 years' residence, according to nationality, are not subject to any restriction affecting their family and working life.

The geographical distribution of the migrant population is very uneven and varies from one linguistic region to another (12% in German-speaking Switzerland, 19% in French-speaking Switzerland and 26% in Italian-speaking Switzerland). The migrants' nationalities are also very varied. The largest groups are:

49%	Italian	4%	Yugoslavian
11%	Spanish	4%	Austrian
10%	German	3%	Turkish
5%	French	1%	Greek

These groups also come from different social backgrounds and have different occupations in Switzerland. The Germans, French and Austrians are mostly lower or middle level managerial staff, while the other nationalities are mainly unskilled workers who have emigrated from rural areas and are highly vulnerable to fluctuations in the economy.

One result of the stabilisation of the migrant population in recent years is the large number of second-generation youngsters. Today the young are central to the debate and largely determine what plans their parents make, what action they take in the associations of which they are members, and what action the Swiss authorities take.

The following table shows the distribution of young migrants in relation to the total school population of the same age in 1980-81 (7):

1980-81	Total population	Migrants
Pre-school	122,060	25,217
Primary	468,531	78,690
Lower secondary	366,792	50,094
Special education	37,611	8,824
Compulsory education	872,934	137,608
Upper secondary	286,992	29,768
Higher education	81,530	13,618
TOTAL	1,363,516	206,211

The problems of rootlessness with which migrants are confronted as a result of their transplantation from one society to another have not been solved, though some have been able to adjust to their situation. On the whole, instability and ambiguity are the characteristic features of the migrant worker's situation. As B Py says (8): "There is a dissociation between the following components: the migrant acts out his personality through his country of origin, establishes socio-cultural contacts through the migrant community and undergoes an economic condition through the host country; in members of the indigenous population, these three components merge into a single society".

Stabilisation of the migrant population, tension with the indigenous population and insufficient integration into the host society - these factors explain why the joint associations came into being and govern their thinking and their work.

1.2 Linguistic features

The linguistic situation with regard to migrants in Switzerland is extremely complex. It should first of all be remembered that there are four national languages in Switzerland. The degree to which migrants have adjusted varies from one linguistic region to another.

French-speaking Switzerland has large numbers of Italian and Spanish migrant workers. The Italians are definitely in the majority, however, and this means that, on the building-site or in the factory, migrants tend to learn Italian or use a "pidgin" of migrants' languages which is sufficient for communication at work. They need only rudimentary French to communicate outside the home, where they often speak a dialect or regional language, and not the national language of their country of origin. As a result, the children are confronted from an early age with a varied collection of poorly-structured linguistic elements. They will learn French mainly at school. In early childhood they are often looked after by child-minders who may be of a different nationality and who may speak their own language with them. As a result, their linguistic handicap is considerable and has repercussions on their education. Learning of the mother tongue at school takes place in mother-tongue-and-culture classes. In some cantons, Italian children can attend Italian school on a full-time basis and thus have little contact with French. But that only applies to a minority of children.

In most Swiss cantons, two hours of mother-tongue-and-culture classes are now incorporated into the school timetable. The marks are included in school reports, but have no bearing on whether or not a child moves up a class at the end of the year.

The situation is even more complicated in German-speaking Switzerland. The overall picture is the same as in French-speaking Switzerland, but the school language is different from that of the social environment. The spoken language is Swiss German, while the written language, and hence that of school, is Standard German. Even for the indigenous population this represents a difficulty (educational statistics in the canton of Aargau show that German children do better at school than Swiss children) and considerably exacerbates the problems that migrant children have in acquiring and organising language systems.

Secondary education in Aargau:

	Realschule	Sekundarschule	Gymnasium
Swiss	23 %	38 %	39 %
Germans	12 %	33 %	56 %
Italians	46.5 %	39 %	14.5 %
Spanish	48.5 %	32 %	19.5 %
Turks	68 %	24 %	8 %

In Italian-speaking Ticino, where most migrant workers are Italians, language problems would seem to be less serious. Yet migrant children do little better at school there than they do in the other cantons. Quite clearly, independently of the use of dialects at home, the family's socio-economic and cultural level is an extremely important factor in success at school and in language learning.

1.3 Institutional features

As the joint associations for the migrant problem in Switzerland are official institutions, it is important to deal with this aspect at length.

The joint associations and contact centres must be viewed in the Swiss political context if their development is to be understood. The context is that of a highly decentralised, direct democracy in which each level of political action, from the federation to the municipalities, has a high degree of independence and decision-making power: "Switzerland is not a nation formed by nature, but one based on the common wishes of its inhabitants. The State is based on small units (family, farm, municipality, canton, religion, linguistic region) where opinions are still formed and decisions made" (3). Another important political feature of Switzerland is the way in which conflicts are settled. In general, an attempt is made to reach a compromise between the parties through agreements (eg post war "industrial peace"). Hence the proliferation of commissions, committees and similar at all levels and in all spheres. Most migrants come from countries where the political situation is very different and have difficulty in understanding how the system works in Switzerland, and the Swiss tend to be critical of foreign ideas and concepts.

These attitudes of mutual distrust have led to tension, with the result that contact centres and joint associations have been set up at all levels to try and find solutions within the Swiss institutional framework. These bodies are purely advisory.

In 1974, the federal authorities recommended that the cantons set up "joint associations for the migrant problem".

These joints associations, which had begun as private or local initiatives, were thus "taken over" by the federal authorities.

The Federal Advisory Committee for the Migrant Problem in Berne drew up a model for these associations in 1973, which was revised in 1976 (see Appendix I).

The model is that of an umbrella organisation for local services and agencies dealing with problems concerning migrants, which is established or recognised by the responsible cantonal or municipal authorities and is politically and confessionally neutral.

It may be a public- or private-law body. According to statistics for 1981, 2 out of the 14 cantonal organisations are public-law bodies, the 8 regional organisations are private-law bodies, and 8 out of the 12 local organisations are private-law bodies (one being mixed). There are also 13 (municipal) committees for migrants (all public-law bodies) and 4 private-law contact centres.

According to the 1973 model, the members of these institutions are representatives of: the authorities responsible for problems relating to migrants, the educational authorities, the Churches, political parties, employers' and employees' associations, public services, Swiss and migrant bodies responsible for social welfare and migrant organisations, as well as individuals dealing with matters relating to migrants.

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The joint associations are therefore institutionalised co-ordinating bodies which in theory have no direct link with the grass-roots of the Swiss and migrant population.

They are the means of implementing the government policy towards migrants: "It is in everyone's interest - that of the Swiss and the migrant population, that of the authorities and the public - for a proper harmony to be established between the two sections of the population. Specific measures are essential for this. Appropriate solutions must be sought first of all in the places where co-existence between migrants and the indigenous population creates problems of a human, cultural, social and economic nature, ie in firms, at the workplace, in schools, municipalities and parishes, in villages, towns and urban neighbourhoods, and in various organisations and associations" (5).

The Federal Committee for the Migrant Problem, which is a committee of experts, maintains relations with the joint associations and contact centres.

The contact centres are all the result of private initiatives and their members are migrant and Swiss associations and individuals interested in the migrant problem. The centres are independent of the authorities and can express opinions on various problems. They are accountable only to their annual general meeting, which lays down the main lines of their work. The committee and the bureau are responsible for ensuring that this work is done.

The joint associations may be cantonal or regional (region = group of municipalities) and the committees for migrants are municipal. The latter are set up by the municipality to advise all the other municipal committees on problems relating to migrants. The associations and committees are organised on the lines of the above-mentioned model (see Appendix II, organisation chart of the Lausanne municipal committee).

Independently of their links with the Federal Committee, these organisations have maintained links with one another since 1973 through a politically and confessionally neutral liaison body known as IGSA.

During my stay in Switzerland I was able to meet the staff of the Joint Association for the Canton of Zurich, the Valais-Migrants Joint Association, the AGBAS Joint Association (canton of Schwyz), the Lausanne Municipal Advisory Committee and the Geneva Contact Centre, and the official responsible for the education of migrant children in the canton of Aargau.

Variety is the rule in Switzerland and, although these institutions all pursue the same aim and are based on the same principles, there are considerable differences between them.

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2. GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE EXPERIMENT

2.1 General and specific objectives

The end-purpose of the joint associations and committees is to bring about the social integration of migrants in Switzerland: "By integration we mean all that contributes to an environment enabling migrants and their families to participate in public life. It is important that they should be able to become full members of our national community. They must feel at ease in our country, just as we must respect their specific cultural background" (2). This text is the most recent and the first in which cultures of origin are mentioned. Good mutual relations between Swiss and migrants are regarded as the key to this integration.

Integration is distinguished from assimilation, the latter being regarded as the end-result of the former: "A distinction must be drawn between assimilation and integration. Assimilation is a process in which the migrant gets progressively closer to the way of life of the host country by gradually adopting its customs, its value system and its attitudes. Assimilation can be the natural consequences of integration. It can be observed mainly in foreigners who have been brought up in Switzerland and occurs more or less spontaneously in those who have integrated successfully at school and at work" (1). In other words, there are two requirements: adjustment on the part of migrants and cultural change, which is considered possible especially for the second generation. No reference is made to the culture of origin.

Integration is considered exclusively from a sociological point of view: "The essential problem, which relates to the human and social aspects, lies outside the scope of State measures. It is rooted in relationships of a purely sociological nature. The solving of this problem depends largely on the attitude and activities of private organisations and institutions ..., of political parties, the Churches, professional associations, recreational, music and sports societies etc, where possible in close co-operation with the authorities responsible for migrants' problems" (4).

Hence one of the objectives is that the whole of society should take responsibility for integration through Swiss and migrant associations and institutions. For this reason, it is essential that migrants should participate in these same institutions: "Social integration has some chance of succeeding if migrants participate in our institutions, such as local associations, political parties, workers' organisations, parishes, educational committees, etc" (2).

The basic principles include: the need for all social groups to co-operate if they are to be effective, action through associations and institutions, an information campaign aimed at both Swiss and migrants, and the limiting of the migrant problem to an exclusively social level: "This means that the joint associations observe a certain restraint with regard to controversial political problems and concentrate as far as possible on the practical issues of co-existence between Swiss and migrants and the social and linguistic integration of the latter" (2).

In this general framework, the associations' objective is essentially to devise, co-ordinate, promote and systematically implement the measures necessary to: 1. inform Swiss nationals and migrants about one another's characteristics and problems in order to improve mutual understanding.

The information is aimed both at member associations and at the relevant official Swiss services. The joint associations act as intermediaries and as teachers. 2. make it easier for migrants to enter our society and support them in their individual efforts to adjust.

This means involving them in the work done on their specific problems in the associations and committees and, where individual welfare assistance is concerned, referring them to the relevant institutions. The joint associations do not act unless the problem cannot be dealt with by other institutions.

The joint associations also study the problems arising in their area and analyse them to find solutions meeting real needs.

The contact centres, which are totally independent of the authorities, have not only adopted the above objectives as their own, but have also set themselves others (eg Geneva):

- to help promote an awareness in Switzerland of the position of Swiss and migrant workers

- to co-operate in seeking a more just and more humane social structure in all spheres

- to urge and encourage all the measures necessary to achieve these aims.

This amounts to a political statement which includes the possibility of action.

In any case, the joint associations themselves have, since 1973, pursued the common objective , as members of IGSA, of influencing the Federal Committee for the Migrant Problem (CFE), especially in legislative matters.

To sum up, the aim is to play an active part in integration through dialogue and consultation at all levels and to try and make society as a whole assume responsiblity for migrants' problems. Integration is understood mainly as social integration which will resolve the problems of migrants through their gradual assimilation.

2.2 Duration

The institutions visited have existed for varying lengths of time.

In the canton of Schwyz, a welfare office was opened in 1964 on the initiative of local employers, was transformed in 1968 into an information and welfare office and now operates as the secretariat of the canton's joint association.

The Lausanne advisory body (municipal committee) was set up by the municipal authorities in 1971.

The Valais-Migrants joint association was set up by the cantonal authorities in pursuance of the 1974 federal recommendation.

An advice bureau for migrants opened in Geneva in 1973 on the initiative of the Protestant Social Centre was the basis for the setting up of the Geneva Contact Centre in 1974.

The KAAZ was set up in Zurich in 1980 as a result of a parliamentary motion to provide coordination between the canton and the municipalities, excluding that of Zurich itself, which already had a municipal committee.

In all cases, the initiative does not come from the migrants themselves, but is due mainly to concern by the authorities or by economic and social leaders. This is of fundamental importance.

These institutions are not short-term experiments. They have no time-limit. In fact, as one official said, the joint associations will disappear once all the institutions concerned (municipalities, educational committees etc) have completely taken charge of the migrant problem and when the migrants can be regarded as having succeeded in their social integration.

2.3 Resources deployed

The economic resources available vary a great deal from one canton to another, as do the sources of funds. On the whole, the work is voluntary with a paid permanent secretariat. Premises are provided by the cantonal or municipal authorities.

In Zurich, there is an annual general meeting attended by all the members (associations, municipalities and individuals). The executive body is the bureau, which has the power to set up committees that call on outside experts. All these people work on a voluntary basis. Secretarial duties are performed by one full-time person assisted by a part-time secretary. The canton bears the cost of printing and makes an annual grant of about 200,000 Swiss francs.

In Valais, the economic situation is more precarious. The 21 members of the committee work on a voluntary basis and only part of the secretary's work is paid. The total annual budget is only 12,000 Swiss francs, a quarter of which is provided by the canton, a quarter by the municipalities and a quarter by the employers' associations, the last quarter being made up of donations and a contribution from the employees' associations.

In the canton of Schwyz, the members of the committee work on a voluntary basis and secretarial duties are performed by a paid social worker. The canton makes a grant of 30,000 Swiss francs, to which should be added a contribution from the municipalities (1% of the direct taxes paid by migrants) and an employers' contribution (10 Swiss francs per year per migrant worker).

In these last two cantons one can see that the joint associations are financed by all the interested parties and that the responsibility is therefore borne by society as a whole.

In the case of the Lausanne municipal committee, the municipality bears the entire cost, as is the case with all municipal committees. There are two people working full-time and a part-time secretary. The other members are paid an attendance fee for meetings.

In Geneva, the Contact Centre is run by a committee of 15-20 people and a 4-member bureau. It is financed by members' subscriptions, which were initially its only source of funds. Premises are sub-let to member associations, if they so wish, for use as their headquarters. The canton makes an annual grant of 10,000 Swiss francs and pays a part-time social worker. The city of Geneva makes an annual grant of 20,000 Swiss francs, giving a rough total of 50,000 Swiss francs per year.

According to the results of a survey (9) carried out in August/ September 1981 on the co-operation between these institutions and the various social groups, some cantons have negligible resources (400 Swiss francs in Aargau), while others are very well off (300,000 Swiss francs for the Zurich municipal committee). Clearly, the funds made available can show how much interest a canton really takes in the migrant problem, because however hard the active members work, voluntary work is dependent on grants.

The members of the executive bodies (committees, bureaux etc) are either elected or appointed by the members of the joint associations (associations, individuals, municipalities, authorities etc). The migrant problem is a social problem and participation in these institutions is regarded as a civic duty.

3. HOW THE JOINT ASSOCIATIONS WORK

3.1 Assumptions and stages of development

Historically, there has been a transition in Switzerland from an individual to a collective awareness of the problems of migrants. Many joint associations and contact centres originated in bodies dealing mainly with information or welfare assistance for migrants. The joint associations have promoted an awareness of the migrant problem as a collective problem by focusing attention on the relations between the indigenous and foreign populations. All these institutions are primarily co-ordinating bodies. Accordingly, the basic assumption was that the attitudes of both migrants and Swiss nationals could be changed. It is noteworthy that, although the aim is the integration of migrants, ie their adjustment to Swiss society, there is nevertheless an awareness of migrants' specific characteristics and difficulties and respect for what they are. For the most part, the joint associations make critical studies of the situation and try to base their approach on what the migrants think and their specific problems, so that the questions dealt with are always the same: school, language and professional advancement. The aim is to involve migrants in life in Switzerland by making them participate. By virtue of their status as migrants, their participation in institutions is always of an advisory (non-voting) nature. At present, the main aim everywhere is that migrants should be present in an advisory capacity in all the institutions that may concern them. An attempt is being made to ensure either that a migrant is present in every municipal council, educational committee etc or that a member of these institutions is given special responsibility for the migrant problem. As some degree of effectiveness is necessary to achieve this aim, all the social groups are represented in the joint associations. As a result, everyone is jointly responsible for analysing the problems and the solutions stand a better chance of being put into practice.

There has not been any querying of objectives within any of the joint associations. The institutional framework is well-suited to Swiss practices and officials accept the basic principles. There is no specific system for evaluation. Generally speaking, the general meetings or committees approve and direct the work done within the joint associations.

Of the institutions we visited, the only one to have reappraised the scope of its work is the Geneva Contact Centre.

The Contact Centre tried initially to inform and educate public opinion and to put over the migrants' point of view by participating in the campaigns against the National Action initiative in 1974 aimed at limiting the number of migrants. In the same year, with the help of migrants, it began to collect signatures in support of the "solidarity" initiative. In 1975-77, the Centre analysed the new legislation on migrants and, in 1978, launched an initiative in Geneva proposing that migrants be given the right to vote in industrial tribunal elections and to stand for election themselves. All these attempts were rejected by the electorate. Nevertheless, a change became apparent in migrants around 1976-77, when they began to sign petitions as migrants and stopped using Swiss nationals as intermediaries. Since then, in Geneva, a motion has been tabled in parliament proposing the setting up of a committee for the integration of migrants (an advisory committee of the joint association type). A committee of experts has been appointed to consider the motion and the Contact Centre might become the advisory body's secretariat. This institution would operate in the same way as the joint associations, with the participation of all social groups and the authorities. The Contact Centre thinks that, at present, the best way of making progress on the migrant problem is not to launch political campaigns, but to make all the social groups aware of the problems and the necessary solutions. The Centre's officials consider that they would be gaining in effectiveness, not losing their independence.

The joint association which bases its work on the joint responsibility of society as a whole would seem to be the most effective instrument for the integration of migrants in Switzerland and their acceptance by the indigenous population.

3.2 Work done and materials used

As a measure of the work done, we shall give the examples most representative of the joint associations visited. Obviously, the field is a vast one and all the institutions that have been working for several years have a wide range of activities to their credit.

To give a general idea, however, here are the officially listed spheres of activity (10) in which the joint associations, committees and contact centres work:

- co-ordination: co-operation with political parties, liaison between migrants and the authorities, further training courses for social workers and teachers etc;

- information and documentation: information on the migrant problem, interpreting and translation service, information sessions for migrants, distribution of leaflets, publication of a newspaper/periodical newletters;

- social and cultural matters: personal assistance, social welfare, pastoral care, filling in of income tax forms, help with home-finding, language courses, homework supervision services, recreational and cultural activites;

- reports are prepared in working parties or ad hoc committees on: the second generation, school problems, adult education, women's problems and other matters.

Obviously, all the joint associations adapt these activities according to their resources, their funds and the local situation.

To illustrate this work, here is what has been done in the institutions visited:

As far as co-ordination is concerned, Zurich's KAAZ is only just beginning its work. KAAZ, which was founded in 1980, for the first time invited all the municipalities and regional associations to a meeting, held on 9 December 1982. There are 15 regional associations in the canton and 200 municipalities, 50 of which accepted the invitation. The purpose of this meeting was to ask the municipalities to appoint an official with responsibility for migrants and to encourage the setting up of local Swiss/migrant contact centres. KAAZ will provide relevant information. As this was the first meeting, it will be interesting to see the impact it has, as the joint assocications in the other cantons use individual relations with the municipalities for co-ordination.

The problems of adult migrants have been a subject of concern to the joint associations at several levels. As regards information, leaflets have been produced in the canton of Valais on naturalisation, residence permits, insurance and housing, and a leaflet has also been distributed to stimulate awareness of these problems among the Swiss population. In the canton of Schwyz, information has been provided on tax matters, the administrative provisions relating to migrants and labour legislation. In Zurich, a model tax return in Italian has been produced and leaflets on remigration and unemployment are in preparation. In Geneva, documents aimed at the population as a whole have been prepared on the status of seasonal workers and a White Paper on "foreigners in Switzerland" was published in connection with the "solidarity initiative". Some joint associations, eg Zurich, publish a newsletter.

Zurich's KAAZ carried out a survey among employers on the language and vocational training of migrant workers. On the basis of the survey's findings, an attempt was made to set up German language courses in firms, but was unsuccessful. There are plans to run German courses this year for unemployed people. Although subsidised by KAAZ, they will be held in a specialised private school in Zurich.

In its working parties, the Lausanne advisory body has studied the problem of foreigners' political rights and has looked into the possibilities of granting political rights to migrants. An analysis has been made of what is done abroad and in the other cantons. A questionnaire was circulated to all the interested parties and the results were relatively encouraging. A motion is under consideration in the municipal council, but has not yet received a reply, which is considered a bad sign.

Another working party deals with the housing problem, which is very serious in Lausanne. A relaxation of the rules on foreigners who do not have access to subsidised housing has been proposed. The housing shortage in Lausanne is acute and an effort has also been made to persuade housing agencies to simplify the formalities with regard to inventories etc.

The group on cultural expression has conducted a survey of migrant associations' activities in this field and there are plans to hold a "Cultural Fortnight".

We have already drawn attention to the Geneva Contact Centre's efforts to influence legislation.

Nevertheless, the problems of the second generation (education and vocational training) are the joint associations' central concern.

By way of an example, we should like to describe the work done in this field by an official of the education department of the canton of Aargau. It is an individual effort, but extremely interesting nonetheless.

The foreign population in this canton is widely dispersed, so that the education officer has had to use all the available institutions.

First of all, additional German classes are given by 40 primary teachers. Special materials have been developed for these classes, mainly on the basis of the vocabulary used in a range of school subjects (maths, history, geography etc), to provide the children with a linguistic ability that they can put to immediate use.

The "homework supervision" scheme has been tailored to the needs of migrant children. It is financed not by the education authorities, but by the municipalities, industry, the Churches, embassies and a small contribution from the families concerned. "Homework supervision" takes place either in a family home or at school and the supervising is done by mothers whose own children have been to school. For this, they receive basic training and are paid a small fee (10 Swiss francs an hour). They include both Swiss and migrant women (Germans and Austrians, but also Italians, Spaniards and some Turks). They work in conjunction with the teachers concerned and also help the children to do their homework.

"Parents' committees" have been set up in which the parents are usually grouped by nationality. Their aim is mainly to provide support for the children and improve the parents' own education. They have links with the municipal education committees.

Lastly, all teachers may attend training seminars at which the problems of migrant children are explained to them.

Thus, all the educational institutions and all the individuals concerned are doing something for migrant children. The main problem is that all depends on the goodwill of a single person.

All the joint associations have tackled the school problem.

In Zurich, a survey was conducted among teachers on the subject: how are pupils treated? The results were published in the newsletter. KAAZ is also a member of the Education Department's Forum for the Integration of Migrant Children. It campaigned for greater recognition of the mother tongue and two hours of mother-tongue-and-culture classes were incorporated into the school timetable. The marks for these classes are entered in the school report, but have no bearing on whether or not a child moves up at the end of the year.

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In Valais, a committee has been working for several years. An overall assessment was made in 1974-76, but the proposals had no effect. A survey was then conducted on the assumption that it would provide more objective results and promote a greater awareness of the problems among the teachers interviewed. This survey has recently been published in leaflet form. The results emphasise the difficulties of language learning and the need for outside help with homework and call for action by the education committees. This survey might provide the basis for more effective dialogue with the education committees and those teachers who show themselves to be receptive to new ideas.

The committee also organised an information seminar for teachers as part of their training. The results were very encouraging.

In Lausanne, a working party is looking into three aspects of education and bilingualism; 1. harmonisation of methods in day-nurseries and crèches. 2. participation by a migrant in the education committee. There are difficulties at present because the migrants do not want this person to be a teacher; 3. the incorporation of mother-tongue-and-culture classes. Two hours have recently been accepted for the 7th, 8th and 9th grades, but the results are limited in practice. Out of 400 Spanish pupils, only 7 have been able to take advantage of this measure. The heads of schools are very hesitant.

All the cantons have brochures in all languages explaining the school system. Two cantons have tackled the problem of vocational training.

In Lausanne, a working party has made a study of the degree to which young people enjoy equality of opportunity when entering working life. This problem had been the subject of a question in the municipal council. As discrimination is difficult to guage, the municipality was asked to conduct a survey. But the question has been under consideration for a long time and has still not been answered.

The Valais joint association is trying to encourage migrants to improve their job prospects. It would like to collaborate with the CISAP (Italo-Swiss Vocational Training Centre in Berne), whose work is based on the principle that the individual's real ability should be determined and that methods should be adopted accordingly. The CISAP works not only with Italians, but also with other nationalities, and is aimed at both adolescents and adults.

The joint association would like to set up groups in the canton on the basis of Article 23 of the Vocational Training Act, under which a course may be taken after 5 years' work. As neither employers nor migrant workers are in favour of incorporating courses into working hours, the joint association thinks that, in conjunction with the CISAP, it can find a solution outside working hours and without any financial repercussions on the family budget. One problem is that the dispersal of the population makes it difficult to arrange courses. The joint association is considering the possiblity of having peripatetic teachers. The important thing, it feels, is to begin with a few classes. If the results are good from the start, the migrants will attend and the organisation will be easier. The plan is under consideration.

In all the cantons, information material (leaflets etc) is translated into several languages and circulated by the associations and municipalities. In most places the local press is used for publishing articles on migrants' problems to alert public opinion and inform the Swiss population.

4. EVALUATION

4.1 Have the objectives been achieved?

The general objective of all these institutions is the social integration of Switzerland's migrants. Given the present difficulties, it is a long-term objective. As it is impossible at present to improve the status of migrants through legislative reform, adjustments must gradually be made in the local framework to assist integration. It is a process of persuasion rather than of imposition, of negotiation at all levels and in all spheres. This approach to integration brings positive results, but is slow and has some limitations. The aim is to create a climate of mutual understanding between Swiss nationals and migrants.

The institutional structure of the joint associations and committees makes for dialogue between the various social groups and, hence, a greater awareness of migrant problems.

All the members have a say in the choice of topics and activities. In some cantons, eg Schwyz and Valais, all the interested parties provide funds, thus showing their willingness to co-operate. The integration of migrants is not the responsibility of the authorities alone.

In the social sphere, a mass of information in all languages helps migrant workers to understand the insurance system, labour legislation, the administrative provisions relating to them, how to fill in their income tax returns, the school system etc. So far, at the joint associations' prompting, two hours of mother-tongue-and-culture classes have been incorporated into the school timetable, the marks for these classes are entered in the school report and there have been surveys to review the situation with regard to second-generation children. The Swiss poulation also receives information, mainly from articles published in the press and through meetings organised in the cantons. Migrant involvement in local life is increasing. The municipalities and their education committees are invited either to consult migrants on their problems or to appoint a person to deal with them. The joint associations have begun to obtain results everywhere.

Nevertheless, only the social aspect of integration is taken into consideration. It is of course a fundamental and essential aspect, but as political rights are excluded all these organisations are purely advisory, and this limits the scope of their work. In Lausanne, the working party on political rights has come to a standstill, as has the working party on vocational training. If the municipality is unwilling to go any further, these problems will have to be dropped. If the school authorities do not co-operate, the incorporation of the two hours of language and culture classes is meaningless. All one can do is encourage the municipalities to appoint an official with responsibility for migrants' problems. There are no exact statistics anywhere showing what has really been achieved. The only indication is that only a quarter of Zurich's municipalities accepted the invitation to the meeting in December.

In actual fact, given the open-ended and indefinite nature of the joint associations' work, we can only make a provisional assessment. Of course, the mere fact that they exist is in itself a step forward and shows a political will

to change the situation. But the work is difficult. Everywhere, negotiations have to be conducted and the people responsible at all levels have to be persuaded. It may be said that the work done so far is a step towards the actual social integration of the migrant population, but that the goal is still a long way off.

4.2 The participants' opinions and difficulties encountered

The leaders of the joint associations and other institutions whom we met are all highly motivated voluntary workers who devote a great deal of time and effort to what they do. They are aware of the difficulties of the situation and work from a long-term perspective. They systematically use all the available institutions to raise migrants' specific problems in all possible places and have them taken up, but come up against many obstacles. One of the major difficulties, in some cantons at least, is that of funding. In Valais, in particular, the joint associations's budget is very limited, so that it has to plan its spending very carefully. For example, if it wants to translate documents into the languages of the various migrant groups, it cannot do them all in the same year, but has to spread them over two years. Obviously, one way of curbing certain activities is to reduce, or not to increase, their funding.

Another important problem from the leaders' point of view is the circulation of their documents and information in general. The joint associations are in direct contact neither with the migrant population nor with the population as a whole. To publicise their work, they have to go through the channels provided by Swiss and migrant associations. At the very most, all the associations themselves can do is pass on the information to their members. Yet the active members of associations form only a minority of the population, especially the migrant population, where participation is mostly very low. When information is sent to other Swiss institutions (municipalities, social welfare offices, etc), its circulation can be even more limited, reaching only those who actually go and ask for information. The joint associations have recently launched press campaigns to publicise their work and the problems they study.

Very few migrants are even aware of the joint associations' existence. Here again, it is a question of an active minority, the migrant population as a whole being mainly concerned with their personal problems. It may be pointed out, however, that such a situation is common in all areas of community life in which very few play an active part. In the case of migrants, it may also be pointed out that the ordinary difficulties of participation are compounded by those arising out of distrust of official initiatives and the differences of attitude and social mores between them and the Swiss. As we explained at the beginning of this analysis, we are dealing with institutional arrangements within the framework of Swiss political life which are neither very familiar nor comprehensible to foreigners who are used to other social systems and relationships. This is perhaps the project's greatest difficulty and ambiguity: integrating different groups into a society through arrangements that are foreign to the mentality of the persons concerned. If respect for the culture of origin is mentioned, it is mainly in the sense of respect for individual freedom. The joint associations' working methods are purely a reflection of Swiss practices. There is no question of changing or challenging

them. The aim is to change the habits and behaviour of the migrants to adapt them to the Swiss social setting. That is what is meant by social integration, which is supposed to result in the assimilation of minority groups. Changing the mental habits even of a small group is a difficult and lengthy task. For this reason, the authorities and the joint associations are focusing their attention more on the second generation, for whom there are plans to facilitate naturalisation procedures.

In any case, it has to be said that the migrants' willingness to integrate and the measures taken so far in that direction are extremely important. If all the interested parties could be made to work together, one could no doubt have the migrant problem taken up at a collective level and succeed in integrating the minorities who have so far been relegated to the social fringe.

5. TRANSFERABILITY

5.1 To what extent are these institutions transferable?

These institutions, especially the joint associations and advisory committees, have arisen mainly out of official initiatives and fit into the overall Swiss political framework. To do their work effectively, they need a pattern of co-operation which is hard to imagine as such in any other context. The social integration of migrants on a local basis requires real power at that level and hence a very high degree of decentralisation. This approach is essential, however, to achieve a certain degree of effectiveness and bring about a genuine change of attitudes. The setting up to that end of a co-ordinating body covering all sections of society requires a spirit of inter-class co-operation which does not exist everywhere. It may therefore be said that this kind of institution is specifically Swiss.

Nevertheless, the idea of having all the interested parties assume responsiblity for the migrant problem and of setting up co-ordinating bodies at local level for that purpose could be transferable to other socio-political contexts.

Other types of institution, possibly with other working methods, could be established on that basis.

As regards the contact centres, they are obviously a more readily transferable form of institution because they are unofficial and hence less dependent on the context of a single country.

What is in any case transferable is the political will to integrate migrants socially by involving them and trying to change attitudes, as this is a fundamental problem which exists wherever there are migrants.

5.2 What precautions should be taken?

Social integration as understood in this context is an integration encouraged by the authorities and at the same time controlled by them. The institutions working in this field must endeavour to preserve their independence of thought and action while remaining alive to the reality of the situation, but without "fearing" the supposed consequences. So far it would seem that they have been successful in adapting their work both to the limitations of the situation and to migrants' local needs.

As the leaders of these institutions are mostly Swiss, they must be careful not to put their own interpretation on migrants' problems and must look for the real needs. It is essential to avoid all paternalism and to take account of differences of attitude.

Although social integration requires migrants to adjust, it must not result in the substitution of one mentality for another. It must be consistent with the preservation of the migrants' character and culture and cannot be effective unless minorities are respected. This implies an effort of acceptance on the part of the Swiss population. Lastly, all these activities are based on the assumption that immigration has been stabilised and halted. Yet every year there are new arrivals. It must also be borne in mind that immigration is a variable phenomenon. Consequently, arrangements must be made for the reception of new arrivals and their integration into Swiss society and future trends must be predicted.

All the institutions visited were very much aware of these problems and have so far tried to overcome them.

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9. Results of a survey carried out in August/September 1981 on co-operation between the joint associations for the migrant problem, the committees for migrants and the contact centres for Swiss and migrants, and the various social groups. Material added in April 1982.

10. Table showing the fields of activity of the joint associations for the migrant problem, the contact centres, the co-ordination offices and the committees for migrants.

The CFE's July 1973 model (revised in March 1976) for a regional, cantonal or municipal joint association for migrants' problems

(Model produced in French, German and Italian)

FUNCTION

Umbrella organisation for local services and agencies dealing with problems relating to migrants, established or recognised by the responsible cantonal or municipal authorities; it is politically and confessionally neutral.

LEGAL FORM

Private- or public-law body.

MEMBERS

Representatives of the authorities responsible for migrants' problems, the school authorities, the Churches, political parties, employers' and employees' associations, public institutions, Swiss and migrant social welfare services and migrant organisations, and individuals dealing with matters relating to migrants.

AIM

To devise, co-ordinate, promote and systematically implement the measures necessary to:
- inform Swiss nationals and migrants about each other's characteristics and problems in order to arrive at a better mutual understanding;
- make it easier for migrants to enter our society and support them in their individual efforts to adjust.

TASKS

1. Co-operation with other services

To maintain permanent contact with the Federal Advisory Committee for Migrants Problems (CFE); to co-operate with all the services and agencies dealing at regional, cantonal or municipal level with welfare assistance to migrants and their integration, and with relations between Swiss and migrants; and to co-ordinate and further the activities of these bodies.

2. Investigation of general problems

To identify and investigate general problems, such as those relating to the education, vocational training and

housing conditions of migrants; and to find solutions to them, specially with the assistance of existing services and institutions or ones specially set up.

3. Advice

To advise the authorities, private bodies, particularly firms employing migrants, and organisations whose activities are likely to achieve a better understanding between Swiss nationals and migrants.

4. Information

To inform Swiss nationals and migrants on general problems and matters of special interest to migrants
- with the assistance of the local press,
- by issuing relevant publications,
- by organising meetings and courses,
- by expressing opinions on specific problems.

5. Charities

To promote the setting up of charities in the interest of Swiss nationals and migrants, and possibly give financial support to efforts in this direction.

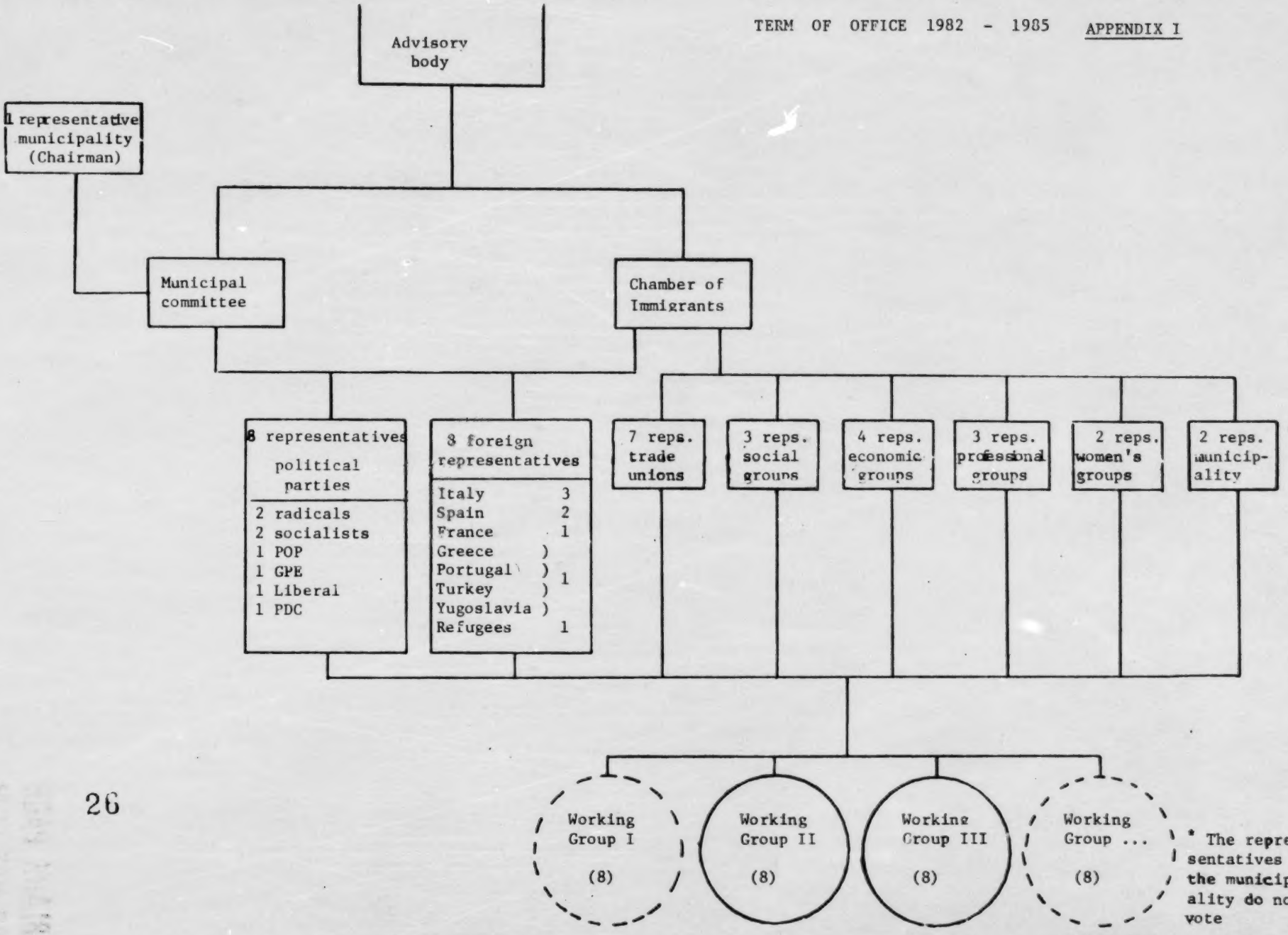
6. Individual Welfare Assistance

To do whatever is possible to provide individual welfare assistance to migrants if no other existing organisation or institution can deal with it.

Organisation: The umbrella organisation must be organised in such a way that
- its member institutions have a real possibility of influencing decision-making,
- the executive bodies have reasonable freedom of action,
- it has a secretariat able to perform its duties effectively; this secretariat must be able to work full-time.

Funding: The umbrella organisation is financed by:
1. a lump-sum contribution from the canton and municipalities representing a certain percentage of the total taxes paid by migrant workers,
2. a contribution from employers' associations, fixed at a total of X Swiss francs per migrant worker employed in the member firms,
3. the other members' contributions, fixed by the general meeting.

TERM OF OFFICE 1982 - 1985 APPENDIX I



* The representatives of the municipality do not vote